13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

of the second group anything from 10s to £1 per year. Owing to various factors governing the export of Tongan bananas, not only from Tonga as a whole, but also from Vava'u in particular, these "most favourable circumstances" are more often conspicuously absent than inconspicuously present.

Two trading-stations are maintained in Pangai. They are owned by two of the trading-stores in Neiafu. The storekeeper of each station lives in Pangai. He draws a small monthly wage and is responsible for cash-sales at the station as well as the buying of green copra at prices set by the Neiafu principals, and the drying of this green copra on the station drying platforms. In 1938, according to figures supplied by the Neiafu owners of these two village-stations, about 115 tons of copra were produced by Pangai village. This was valued according to prices then ruling at about £430. The total village-income from copra production for that year was therefore about this sum. Again, according to figures given by the trading-stores, the cash sales for the year 1938 made by these two Pangai stations totalled just over £306.[15] This last figure does not, of course, cover the total store expenditure of the Pangai people. Some few of them occasionally go to Neiafu to visit friends or relatives. They then take the opportunity to spend what cash they have available in the larger stores where they can gaze upon shelves and shelves full of merchandise and groceries to their hearts' content and for the consideration of some minor purchase.

The two village-stations give credits according to the discretion of their managers. That this involves risks and necessitates good judgment is suggested by the fact that during the auction of the stocks and assets of one large store in Neiafu that had closed down, more than £1,000 worth of book debts were sold for £5. The opening bid was

[15] From the viewpoint of personality study we would still be interested to know why the Tongan manager of one of these village-stations produced at our request, and after the most herculean labours, an itemized account of store sales which purported to show that his store did a cash-business of well over £1,000 for the year 1938 when the books of the European owner of the business showed cash sales of £1461 Very likely our good Tongan friend was dreaming of the day when he was going to be the owner of the largest store in Neiafu.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

443 [452] [430] [157] 5/-. It was only by tremendous effort that the auctioneer was able to increase the opening bid to twenty times its amount. This is not to be taken as implying in any way that Tongans are dishonest in money matters. They are just carelessly easy-going where money is concerned. Store-keeping in Tonga therefore, is perhaps fraught with more hazards than is usual elsewhere.

438 177 The itemized list of sales from the more reliable of the two native store managers in Pangai shows that about forty different articles were sold during the year. Table 9 shows the items of western European material culture that are significant to the culture of the Pangai villager today.

TABLE 9.—STORE SALES

Article	Percentage of Total Sales	Group Percentage of Total Sales
Canned meats	21	
Flour	14	
Sugar	11	70
Tobacco	10	
Piece-goods	7	
Soap	7	
Kerosene	5	
Fishlines	5	
Fishhooks	2	20
Canned fish	3	
Shirts	3	
Bushknives	2	
Matches, rope, crockery Singlets (vests), lanterns	Each item small	5
Spades, candy, blue Groceries (cocoa, canned milk, coffee, jam) Cotton thread Teething-powder	Each item very small	4
Ink, pencils, slate-pencils Buckets, tubs, umbrellas Needles	Each item smaller	1

This table lists materials and foods according to percentages based on volume of sales. This does not of course necessarily correspond to the value or status-position of these articles or goods in the lives of the villagers. Piece-

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

goods (used for making the *vala*, dresses, etc.), shirts and vests are vitally important in order to conserve what might be called a decency-status in village life.[16] Soap and blue are similarly necessary to keep both clothing and the person reasonably clean. Tobacco for the villager is more than a luxury, specially when alcoholic liquor is practically unobtainable. Reels of cotton, though costing relatively little, play a vital part in clothes-repairing. Lastly, teething-powders, which account for almost one quarter of the expenditure on the items with which it is grouped in the table above (one per cent. also out of total store expenditures), perform the incredibly useful function of keeping teething infants from wailing wretchedly day and night and thus preserve a sufficient measure of quiet for adults to sleep. (Expert medical opinion in Tonga suggests that the frequent use of these teething-powders, which generally contain a large measure of powerful drugs, is one not unimportant contributory factor in a high infant mortality among the villagers. But it is hard to convince a Tongan of this fact; all the more so in that adults, children, and infants all share the same floor at night and the frustrations imposed upon one who would sleep by the wailing of a toothache-racked child can always be relieved by administering teething powders to the infant.)

The percentage-distribution of sales as set forth in this table refers only to one of the two stores in the village. There is no reason to think that the general percentages and proportions would be materially altered were it also possible to include sales from the second store in the village and also sales made to villagers from the several stores in nearby Neiafu.

Although some few men in the village obviously have a greater yearly income of money than the majority, there are as yet few signs of any tendency to reckon social prestige in terms of wealth-accumulation. The village overseer, the

[16] By Tongan law, rigidly enforced, men and women (both Tongan and white) must cover with clothing upper and lower parts of the body. Considerable ingenuity is exercised by those pleading before Tongan courts in order to determine what constitutes for men an upper garment that infringes neither law nor decency. Apparently a necklace does not constitute an upper garment but a shirt collar with hardly more than a tatter of shirt hanging precariously to the collar, is considered to be well within the law!

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With increasing urbanization, many people in Tonga's capital city are finding themselves too busy to grow their own food. Thus, an average day at *Talamahu* ("to tell of plenty") *Market* finds people bustling about buying papayas, taro, coconuts, bananas, vegetables, weaving materials and other items brought from farm lands outside the urban setting.

'Alu pe a fakalaka mo e si'isi'i a taimi 'o e kakai ke toe fai ha ngoue. Ko e ongo ta eni 'o e fakatau me'akai 'i he Maketi Talamahu.

969
443
498
142
291
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caption is on p.72
[p.73]

49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9

GARTH ROGERS

Systematic development of agricultural resources was the prime concern of Tonga's first development plan (1965–1970), the main effort and spending being allocated to a comprehensive Coconut Replanting Scheme. Banana exports to New Zealand and Japan have fluctuated although they have gradually increased throughout the 1960s. But other agricultural exports—such as watermelons, fungus, groundnuts, pineapples, vegetables and ginger—comprise only a very small fraction of the total exports. Other crops are either completely absorbed by home consumption or are, as yet, only in an experimental stage.

A fishing industry has been established in Nuku'alofa with the aid of Japanese experts but in 1968 it was barely supplying the home market. Local private fishermen would sell a string of small fresh fish, in all about three to four pounds, for about fifty *seniti* (NZ50c). Fish was sold in the government market at intervals of about two weeks but the supply rarely lasted more than one day. Tuna and shark caught by the government vessel were refrigerated in the government market and sold for ten and four *seniti* per pound respectively. Labourers' wages at that time in Nuku'alofa were one *pa'anga* (100 *seniti*) per day. By early 1969 small shipments of crayfish tails were being transhipped to the United States via Fiji by an Australian fisherman who owned his own craft but employed local Ha'apai labour.

* * *

A very high proportion (75.57% or 57,526) of the total Tongan population was classified in the 1966 census as "economically inactive", that is, as persons not engaged in any form of "industry" ranging from subsistence agriculture to public service. Included in this category were 16,308 or 81.3% of all adult Tongan women who were engaged in "home duties", all children under fifteen years of age, and all who were students over fifteen years or retired. It should be understood, however, that women perform some important economic tasks such as assistance with food-gathering and copra-making. Moreover, according to the traditional division of labour in Tonga, women make mats, baskets and bark-cloth as part of their "home duties". Nevertheless, only 1,013 or 5.0% of adult Tongan women were engaged in activities other than these.[7] No Tongan women were listed as employed in "government and administration" (excluding government clerks); 607 or 3.02% of all adult Tongan women (compared with 1,715 Tongan males) were listed as employed in "services" (religious, educational, medical, personal; not transport); 173 or 0.86% (compared with 180 Tongan males) in "commerce"; and only 18 or 0.089% (compared with 579 Tongan males) in "part-manufacturing and processing" industries.[8] In Tonga, the traditional idea and practice that man is the provider and head of the household still persists.

7. TONGA, 1968: Table 12b, 72–74.
8. In 1961, 9.5% of all adult Western Samoan women were classified as "economically active" (excluding "village agriculture"); 7.9% of all adult women, mainly the 15–29 age-group, were engaged in "industry" of one sort or another. The 1966 Cook Island census (pp. 5, 55) lists 1,620 adult Cook Island women or 35.4% of all adult females as "economically active" of whom 1,032 resided in Rarotonga. Cook Island women engaged in manufacturing numbered 301 (compared with

362 Since these are also the best endowed areas for 'api tukuhau, the recent migrant is likely to build in indigenous material while those in paid employment can afford and are likely to build a house entirely of imported materials. Table V demonstrates that 43 per cent of those household heads living in houses constructed of composite materials and 53 per cent of those living in houses constructed of indigenous materials were employed in agriculture. Furthermore, of those living in composite housing only 30 per cent had been born outside Tongatapu.

[369] The overall design, internal and external arrangements of these houses differ little from those of the countryside and this again demonstrates the persistence of traditional modes of life within the town. Many houses adhere to the traditional apsidal or oval floor plan but even those with non-traditional rectangular floor plans are arranged to meet the flexible demands of sleep and entertainment. [593] Adolescent boys have a separate sleeping hut in keeping with the [343] traditional practice of brother-sister avoidance. Living, eating, [171] cooking and washing activities take place in separate buildings in keeping with practices traditional to much of Polynesia.

511 Tongans living in houses of composite materials have more
184 copra driers on their 'api kolo, clear evidence of their active involvement in agriculture. They own more horses and carts, buy less
[264] imported food than those living in large wooden houses. They are more likely to follow the rural practice of eating two and not three meals a day (see Table VI). Their women folk are more involved in the making of tapa in the kautaha koko'anga, in making other Tongan handicrafts, and are active in attendance at the fale hiva or choir house of the local church.

443 A town's bazaar sector, labour intensive and family directed,
[369] is considered by some students of Asian cities to bear at least close resemblance to and have close links with the rural peasantry and therefore deserves some brief mention here. The bazaar sector in
[433] Nuku'alofa is not well developed. This is because the Tongan economy itself is underdeveloped, consequently offering fewer opportunities. The main activities in the bazaar sector are small-scale trading from single room shops which sell at prices slightly in excess of the European firms from where they have purchased their goods; the hawking of handicraft goods mainly to tourists; and the sale of primary produce such as ground foods, kava, Tongan oil and shellfish.
443 In some cases the people involved are middlemen acting for villagers,
441 and one group, the fakafefine, have some form of loose cooperation which cuts across kin affiliations. The fakafefine (the word means "like a woman") work in teams, each team jealously guarding its round of customers. Some have groups of women manufacturing the articles they sell and most have trading arrangements beyond Nuku'alofa and

Table VI

Tongatapu

Diet, Possessions and Club Attendance

	House Types				
	Large Wooden %	Small Wooden %	Indigenous %	Composite %	Average
Diet					
Three meals daily	75	52	28	43	44.5
Buy Imported food	56	31	31	40	35.4
Possessions					
Two or more beds	100	55	12	27	42.4
Motorised vehicle	44	17	0	7	14.2
Horse or Cart	38	38	34	67	43.5
Club Attendance					
Fale Hiva	69	52	53	60	56.6
Fale Kava	31	66	44	50	49.5
Fale Koko'anga	19	28	41	57	38.4
Total Households	16	29	32	30	107

Source: Household Questionnaire

Notes: The answers on diet refer to activities occurring at least three times weekly; those on club attendance involved at least one person in the household. Both types of wooden house correspond with "exotic"; the information on the larger houses is included for later discussion.

sometimes beyond Tonga. The fakafefine, however, are not typical. The unit of organisation (for most Tongans involved in the bazaar sector) is the family or people of the immediate neighbourhood. Rarely does involvement in the bazaar provide the sole or main source of income for the families concerned. It provides work and income for some members of the family while others are involved in agriculture and paid employment. Participation in these three areas of economic activity involve the total labour force of the family and ensure its greatest chance of economic well-being. Nevertheless, the bazaar sector in Nuku'alofa seems likely to expand as more wealth enters the kingdom and the indigenous market expands.[24]

nuku'alofa : readapted or transformed ?

McGee has suggested that "Some folk societies ... are

511 durable items which are mostly cooking utensils and tools.

794 511 (129) From church records I was able to obtain the exact amount contributed at the time of the annual church collection (misinale) by households. This information is presented in Table 15 but represents only a fraction of the total given during the year.[A] Although the annual collection represents the single largest donation for each year, smaller collections are taken at other times. During the annual collection church members also contribute goods, mostly storable vegetables, but I was not able to obtain information on these contributions.

794 592 626 511 Church contributions are made publicly in the Sunday services. The name of each household head is called, and a representative of that household steps to the front of the church and lays the contribution on a table which is in view of all present. This procedure results in almost everyone having knowledge about how much everyone else contributes. (554) A great deal of prestige is attached both to the act of giving and to giving large amounts.

434 511 Most physical needs of the Tongan peasant are met through his own efforts at cultivation, fishing, and collecting. Cash is only a small part of family income and is used to purchase goods and services which [871] [794] cannot be secured through traditional means. For instance, the expenses of education and church support can only be paid for with cash.[1] [B]

The Village Store

● 443 From the information I could obtain the first store in Puke was built in about 1908 by one of the villagers; then in 1912 a European

A. [See p. 81--Analyst] B. [For footnote, see p. 123--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 82]

443 built a store and hired one of the villagers to run it. In about 1925 the third store was built and run by a villager, and twice since that time other villagers have maintained stores. There have been five stores since 1908 but none has run concurrently with any other, and the presence of at least one store has been nearly continuous. This time distribution might be evidence that more than one store could not be supported by the village.

443 438 [464] The current store owner has a full-time wage labor job in Nuku'alofa and gardens for most of his family's food; his wife runs the store. The store is not kept open continuously but is opened at almost any time a customer wishes to make a purchase except on Sundays. Merchandise is [494] [493] acquired at larger stores in Nuku'alofa in small enough quantities so that the owner may transport them from Nuku'alofa by bicycle. The inventory consists primarily of sugar, flour, tinned meat and fish, candies, tabacco products, and a number of small household items such as batteries, thread, razor blades, and needles. Two other important items are kerosene and soap products.

[452] The store owner allows credit purchases for some members of the community up to a maximum of $T5.00. Store inventory fluctuates considerably and villagers do not rely upon it for that reason they buy large proportions of goods at larger stores in Nuku'alofa. An analysis of buying patterns for twenty households using sample A showed that 6.65 percent of the goods purchased were purchased at the local store.

574 Christmas, New Years, the Sabbath, and the several national holiday of
(527) Tonga such as the King's birthday. Feasting is also important at funer-
574 als, farewells, and welcomings. Each feast may be viewed as small-scale
571 redistribution where many individulas may be asked to contribute food and are also asked to attend. For the feast-giver there is the prestige and reward of obligating others to him. The social units participating in the preparation of a feast vary from the members of one household to an entire village. In Puke one of the basic reasons for village division is to facilitate the preparation of feasts for village guests, particularly churchmen. Each of the divisions takes its turn in rotation.

The Modes of Transaction

128 In this section I will describe the types of transactions used in the flow of goods and services and try to establish the relative importance of each. Possibly the most outstanding feature of this aspect of
432 178 the Tongan economy is the integration of modern market modes of transactions with the traditional forms of reciprocity. Buying and selling
432 178 is still a relatively new idea in Tonga and there is some social stigma
443 attached to persons who engage in such activities. Persons selling food
558 are frequently the topic of gossip as Tongans wonder why the seller is
626 not giving the food. A common ploy used by vendors of foodstuff is to use children as the salesmen; this tactic helps prevent gossip and removes the vendor from a situation in which he might be asked to reduce his price for kinsmen and friends or even freely give the merchandise.

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443 Persons providing services and vendors of crafts and food frequently try to keep their transactions on a gift-exchange basis so that the transaction is understood to be two persons giving each other gifts rather than one principal paying the other. The "seller" benefits in two ways from this type of transaction: he at least partially avoids being identified as a "business-boy" and he often materially benefits because the return gift is above what could be asked as a price. In this type of transaction the measurement function of money is disregarded, unless the return gift is considered too small. Handicrafts are often [439] sold by this method, befuddling tourists who wish to equate a unit of money with a certain amount of merchandise.

437
432 Transactions involving money are fakatau transactions. 'To sell' is fakatau atu, atu meaning 'away' or 'from'; 'to buy' is fakatau mai, mai meaning 'toward'. 'To pay' is totongi and as a noun means 'price'; mahu'inga also means 'price'.

431 Anything given (foaki) without explicit expectation of a return is a gift (me'a'ofa) which literally translated means 'thing of love'. At times gifts are legitimately solicited by request (kole) but built into such a request is the implicit understanding that the solicitor must be ready to meet a future request of the person from whom he has solicited. [554] There is more prestige in giving than in receiving and one who is al- [558] ways asking for gifts without returning the favor suffers loss of prestige, but he does not usually lose his right to keep making requests. This mode of transaction is by far the most frequent non-monetary type and is a form of what Sahlins calls "generalized reciprocity" (1965: 147).

127 The land tenure system was studied using land registers and survey maps with the help of the staff of
121 the Land and Survey Department, Nuku'alofa. The aim was to gather precise data on the total number and area of the different types of land holdings, which could in turn be used as a sampling frame for statistical surveys.

127 Statistical data on the export of copra, bananas, and other produce were gathered from records available at the
121 Tonga Copra and Tonga Produce Boards. These data were
439 important to the study because a large percentage of the produce exported through these Boards originates from the small landholders' bush allotments.

125 A year-long study of Talamahu Market in the capital
443 city of Nuku'alofa was carried out. Talamahu Market is the only permanent market place in the Kingdom which serves
125 as an outlet for local produce. Throughout 1971 and the beginning of 1972, the market was visited at least once a week to determine the seasonality and types and quantities of produce that were available.

125 On Saturday, January 22, 1972 from 6:00 A.M. to
114 10:00 P.M., seven senior high school students helped make a complete inventory of the amount, origin, destination, and means of transportation of all available commodities for a single day.

127 Black-and-white aerial photography (at a scale of
128 1:20,000), flown in August 1968 for the British Directorate

241 439 [441] [655] on which the bulk of their exports are grown.

Most export produce is, however, shipped through the Produce Board, and a great percentage of this is grown on the individual bush allotments. Vanilla, which is an important export crop in Vava'u, is now being grown in the Ha'apai group and on Tongatapu. Experimental export of cantaloupe (rock melon) and strawberries have also been made, and schemes to export onions, garlic, and corn to Fiji are under consideration. In 1971, to encourage the production of other export crops, a laboratory was established and manned by a trained plant pathologist to study diseases and insects that are prevalent in the Kingdom.

242 439

443 Domestic Agricultural Income

The market place in Nuku'alofa, which began as a collection of periodic street vendors after World War II, evolved into a modern open-air facility known as Talamahu Market, which officially opened in October 1970. The market takes up four acres (1.6 hectares), contains 47 lock-up stalls, 80 tables, considerable floor space for additional sellers, toilets, taxi stands, and a bus depot.

443 438 The market deals primarily in native subsistence produce, mainly staple crops, vegetables, and fresh fruit. It also handles a limited amount of native fiber goods, tapa cloth, native medicine, beverages, spices, and more recently handicrafts. Some prepared food, firewood, shellfish, live pigs, and chickens are also sold outside the walls of the

443 438 [436] market. Exchange is generally on a cash basis, although occasionally barter is seen.

The market is open every day except Sunday, Saturday having the heaviest trading. On one Saturday, an estimated 350 sellers were present and approximately 2,000 buyers, who 443 purchased about $T3,000 worth of produce. Including non-buyers and socializers, people present may have totalled as many as 5,000 or approximately ten percent of Tongatapu's 443 438 population. A great variety of agricultural products are sold at the market (Table 27). Some items such as rhubarb, [244] okra, parsley, and certain varieties of squash are marketed [241] solely by well-organized truck gardening operations, [795] including the Mormon Church, but most items are grown primarily on bush or town allotments. Most sellers are part-443 time or target marketers, who sell only when they have surplus agricultural products or are in need of cash for a [444] specific purpose. The balance of the sellers, no more than 25 percent, are either representatives of co-operative societies and missionary societies or middlemen who buy products from individual farmers and serve as retailers.

443 438 In short, the market is: 1) a source of cash for rural people; (90 percent of the sellers in the market during a study on January 22, 1972, were from outside Nuku'alofa); 2) an important food source for the increasing urban/non-agrarian population of Nuku'alofa (approximately 85 percent of the food purchased was purchased by consumers in the Nuku'alofa area); 3) an important source of firewood, Tongan medicine,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 174]

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Table 27. List of agricultural produce sold at Talamahu Market from February 1971 through January 1972.

STAPLE CROPS	
Yams	Sweet potatoes
Goa yams	Manioc
Swamp taro	Green bananas (*siaine* variety)
American taro	Green bananas (*pata* variety)
Giant taro	Green plantain
Potato	Pumpkin
Breadfruit	Mature coconuts

VEGETABLES	
Taro tops	Leeks
Hibiscus leaves	Chinese cabbage
Onions	Peas
Green onions	Carrots
Tomatoes	Capsicum
Cucumbers	Peanuts
Cabbage	Okra
Lettuce	Squash
Radishes	Parsley
Green beans	Chard
Yard-long beans	Beets
Sugar cane	Rhubarb

438
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Table 27. Continued.

Bottle Gourd

FRUIT

Ripe bananas (siaine variety)	Pineapple
Ripe bananas (mamae variety)	Watermelon
Ripe plantain	Cantaloupe
Oranges	Roselle
Lemons	Pometia pinnata
Limes	Polynesian vi-apple
Citrons	Mango
Mandarins	Avocado
Grapefruit	Soureop
Papaya	Passionfruit
Other citrus	Malay apple
Granadilla	Tahitian chestnut

MISCELLANEOUS FOOD ITEMS

Eggs	Shell fish
Chickens	Fungus
Pigs	

SPICES

Ginger	Chile peppers

443
438

Table 27. Continued.

BEVERAGES, STIMULANTS AND MEDICINES

Green coconuts	Tongan medicine
Kava	Tobacco

MISCELLANEOUS NON-FOOD ITEMS

Polynesian arrowroot	Banana leaves
Coconut midribs	Bamboo
Brooms	Coconut oil
Yam seed	Kapok
Firewood	

HANDICRAFTS

Flower leis	Plated hats
Pandanus baskets	Plaited slippers
Coconut baskets	Tapa cloth
Wood carvings	Pandanus mats
Grass skirts	Seed leis
Serving trays	Bamboo curtains
Tablemats	Brooms
Pandanus fruit	Hibiscus cordage
Pandanus leaves	Paper mulberry
Tapa dye	

443 and other non-food items and raw materials; and, 4) an out-
438 let for surplus export crops. This last function is of
[439] considerable importance owing to the undependability of both overseas markets and transportation; surpluses of melons, pineapples, bananas, and European vegetables are sold at Talamahu Market at reduced prices rather than being wasted.

443 The Talamonu Market, a smaller satellite market, was
656 established in Nuku'alofa to escape government regulations adhered to at Talamahu Market, such as washing root crops
443 which renders them more perishable. It has similar functions to the Talamahu Market, but on a much smaller scale and has a narrower range of products.

443 Cash sale of agricultural produce and animals in the
438 villages and rural areas includes the occasional sale of baskets of yams, taro, giant taro, or watermelons; the butchering and sale of cows or horses; and the sale of drinking coconuts, mangoes, tava, and vi-apples along the main roads. Vendors along the main streets of Nuku'alofa also sell drinking coconuts, sugar cane, peanuts, and seasonal fruits.

Although pigs and chickens are often sold at Talamahu Market as well as in the villages, the Vuna Government Market in Nuku'alofa is the major outlet for fish or meat. In 1970 and 1971, 166,926 and 160,771 pounds respectively were handled by the market (Government of Tonga, 1972b:15).

443 The sale of Tongan handicrafts is also a major source
438 of domestic cash income. Handicrafts, which include items
such as tapa cloth, pandanus mats, pandanus and coconut
443 leaf baskets, seed necklaces, flower leis, and wood carvings
438 are sold through a Tongan woman's co-operative marketing
439 organization, the Langa Fonua, at Talamahu Market and other
441 locations in Nuku'alofa, in special stalls set up on the
485 government commons on days when passenger liners are in
port and select locations near points of interest to sight-
443 seers throughout Tongatapu. Although some handicrafts are
438 exported to Fiji, New Zealand, Australia, American Samoa
439 and the United States, more are sold locally.

Labor Organization

241 Out of 126 sample households with bush allotments,
461 there were 198 males whose primary occupation was working
on these allotments. The average work per week was 23 hours
241 per man and 36 hours per household. Although these men
476 mostly worked as individuals or with family members in small
[46] groups, the figures also include the hours of work in
organized communal groups or as wage laborers on agri-
cultural allotments. For tasks such as clearing bush,
planting crops, harvesting, making tapa, or building houses,
many Tongans prefer to work in communal groups rather than
as individuals or households.

[62] The most common working group is known as the kautaha

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

128 The purpose of this chapter is two-fold: 1) to summarize the findings on the nature and importance of the Tongan agricultural system as practiced in bush and town allotments in 1971 - 72; 2) to suggest trends or developmental paths that the system is likely to follow.

241 Nature and Importance of the Agricultural System

241 463 The importance of agriculture in Tonga cannot be overemphasized. At the 1966 census, 67 percent of the Kingdom's males over 15 years of age were either directly or indirectly employed in agriculture, with 64 percent being directly involved in agricultural production for household consumption (Fiefia, 1968 : 74). Similarly, the results of the questionnaire survey of households on Tongatapu indicated that 53 percent of the heads of 150 households were full-time farmers, 15 percent part-time farmers, 24 percent wage-earners, and 8 percent unemployed. Of the wage-earners (the majority of whom live in Nuku'alofa), 58 percent practiced 241 some gardening on their bush allotments. Agricultural 439 products accounted for more than 97 percent of Tonga's export earnings in 1971 (Government of Tonga, 1972a).

241 One further measure of the importance of the agricul- 438 tural system is the rapid expansion of trading at Talamahu 443

241 438 443 Market. Nuku'alofa, which is probably visited by more than 10 percent of the entire population of Tongatapu on an average Saturday. With the exception of garden vegetables grown by large growers on leasehold land and limited produce from other islands, almost all produce and processed goods come either directly or indirectly, as in the case of handicrafts and folk medicines, from the bush and town allotments on Tongatapu.

241 311 Bush Allotments

Survey results indicated that 34 percent of the area on bush allotments was under cultivation during the 1971 - 72 period. This figure would be somewhat higher if uncultivable rocky and swampy land found on numerous bush allotments is excluded; Hardaker's (1971 : 63) estimate of 36 percent shows close agreement.

241 Of the cultivated land, 87 percent was devoted to subsistence cultivation, 11 percent to commercial cropping, [311] and the balance to a combination of the two. On only one of the 101 sample allotments was there any grazing on natural pasture. 241 Of the subsistence acreage, the most 244 widespread crop was manioc (Manihot esculenta) comprising 37 percent of the total acreage. It was followed by American taro (Xanthosoma spp.), 23 percent; yams (Dioscorea alata), 21 percent; and then by swamp taro (Colocasia esculenta) and sweet potatoes (Ipomoea batatas). Other

/95 cont./

476 for a person may ask one or more fellow-villagers (aside from relatives) to help with difficult undertakings on the plantations, in house building or boat building. In general, everyone complies with such a request, and the work is not paid, but usually acknowledged only with
[621] a good earth-oven meal. Here too community feeling is stronger
[177] than European influences. Thus, in December 1951 on Nomuka, many
476 Tongans of the "Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga" /cited in English/
571 helped their fellow villagers of the "apostate" "Church of Tonga" to
794 make cement tiles for a new church building; even the pastor of the
795 Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga took part in this work, and the brass
533 bands of his church provided music for the construction work of the "apostates."

186 The far-flung kinship of the villagers among each other on many
181 islands is an important, though by no means the sole, cause of this solidarity. It is rooted above all in the particular Tongan character
[178] traits of good nature and gregariousness, and is strengthened and
443 cultivated by tradition. Even the Tongan traders with their small
181 shops which, as a result of their European-like way of doing business,
178 could be a foreign body in the community, sometimes yield to old customs. Thus it often happened on Nomuka, for instance, that a
[477] merchant who had run out of certain articles asked his competitor for them and successfully sold them.

476 The more casual joining together of several villagers in a work project for one of them often takes on a more permanent form by becoming a sort of cooperative organization for mutual aid. For instance, five men may agree to found such a work group, a kautaha, in order to cultivate their plantations. On the first day, all five will work for number one on his land, then for number two, and so on. During this rotation no further member is taken on; however, for the next round they are often willing to increase the number of participants

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1 '78 OU9 Tonga OU9

245 decreasing production of bananas is the s. read of black leaf streak, bunchy top and scab moth.)

439 [647] Marketing of banana produce, through the Tonga Produce Board, is often difficult because of improper scheduling of shipping facilities and the subsequent sale of under or overripe fruit. [435] In one example, 9,000 cases of produce became overripe while in wharfage awaiting shipment, resulting in the fruit being sold for 40 cents per case (Report of the Minister of Agriculture 1973, p. 5). The bulk of banana produce is shipped to New Zealand, although the shipping difficulties and quality control remain 245 obstacles to full entry into this market. These same problems 439 with marketing, shipping and quality have been effective in removing [654] many Tongan farmers from banana production. At present, the Produce Board reports that export levels are so low that levies are not sufficient to provide a comprehensive service to growers in such areas as disease control ("Banana Exports . . ." 1974, p. 5).

439 438 In addition to the exportation of bananas, coconut, and miscellaneous melons, fruits and vegetables to international markets, small quantities of produce are also traded among the islands, the most important of these transfers being from 'Eua to Nuku'alofa on Tongatapu, and from Nuku'alofa to Pangai and Neiafu. This movement involves not only domestic produce, but also food imports such as tinned meats, sugar, flour and a wide range of foodstuffs sold through the local stores (fale koloa).

443 [438] [366] Large quantities of produce are also marketed domestically. Although some produce is sold in several smaller settlements, the

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

largest markets are Nuku'alofa in Tongatapu, Pangai in Ha'apai, and Neiafu in Vava'u. Such markets cater to two principal groups, although many people travel to market to buy, sell, or socialize. Those members of the non-Tongan population who do not lease land, such as church facilities, and must purchase market food, represent one group. Though not large in comparison to the Tongan population, this group does contribute a significant cash input to the local economy. The second group consists of landless Tongans and those Tongans who do not farm or garden intensively and derive cash income from other means.

Producers, or members of their families, most frequently sell directly to the consumer. Saturday is market day (although the major markets carry some business throughout the week, except Sunday) and the market area becomes the center of urban activity. Individuals having produce to sell may rent one of several types of stalls or floor space, upon which to display their produce. The staple foods (i.e., tubers, coconuts, and bananas) are the major items sold, although other types of food produce and miscellaneous items, such as shells, carvings, and handicrafts, are also available. Marketing hours generally are from 8:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M., with the busiest time being in the forenoon and early afternoon.

Personal observations, plus discussions with sellers, revealed several marketing patterns. A few farmers or craftsmen sell each day or week on a regular basis, and generally have rented stalls which can be locked at the end of each day. Rental for these is on a monthly basis, and costs the producer eight dollars per month.

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

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443 month. On the other hand, some farmers market their produce only monthly or occasionally during the year, depending upon when a cash need arises. A third type of seller is the craftsman who produces items of quality specifically for the tourist trade (i.e., handicrafts of wood, shell or tortoise shell) and markets these goods only when a tourist ship or plane has brought passengers from Fiji or Samoa. Thus, the craftsman's sales are largely independent of the needs of native Tongans. The prevalence of this type of producer is expected to increase, as tourism develops within Tonga.

443 438 [262] A variety of baked goods may also be found in the market on Saturday. Though largely devoid of flavor and extremely heavy in texture, Tongan "cakes" are popular and sell rapidly. An excellent market also exists for peanuts. Supply rarely is adequate to meet demand. The sale of kava (from which "Tongan beer" is made) is also brisk. Kava is lightweight and easily transportable. Producers on Ha'apai, Vava'u and many of the isolated islands often send kava to Nuku'alofa for sale.

[655] The major competitor to the open-air market is the Vuna Government Market, which handles the majority of fish and meat sales to Nuku'alofa and surrounding Tongatapu. Many of the local stores are also beginning to sell fresh meat products. Consequently, the amount of meat sold in the market fell from 160,771 pounds in 1971, 443 to 94,684 pounds in 1973. The sale of fresh fish in the market 438 rose during the same period, mainly due to the operation of a gov- 655 ernment fishing vessel which had a total catch of 203,243 pounds in 228 1973 (Report of the Minister of Agriculture 1973, p. 24).

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 978 OU9 Tonga OU9

226 Fishing activity is often not considered part of the agri-
226 cultural sector of an economy. However, in Tonga fishing represents
434 a significant cash input to the local agricultural base. Of the total survey sample, over 15 percent of those questioned indicated that they derived some part of the household cash income from fish-
228 ing. The Tongan government obviously considers fishing to be of
655 significant value to the national economy, in that it includes evaluations of fishing catch and sale within the annual reports, and
[505] operates one major fishing vessel, the Ekiaki. This ship is of modern construction and contains some refrigeration and pre-processing facilities. In 1973, the Ekiaki landed a total of 203,243 pounds of fish, representing a catch percentage (catch per 100 hooks) slightly better than Korean and Chinese operations in the region. This total catch was smaller than anticipated, due to mechanical breakdowns and the lack of trained operation personnel.

228 Tongan waters are a largely untapped source of food, includ-
136 ing such fish species as tuna, bill-fish, and shark (Report of the
443 Minister of Agriculture 1973, p. 30). In 1973, sale of fish through
434 the Vuna market equaled over $15,000, or 120,000 pounds. However,
[438] demand for fish in Nuku'alofa far excelled this amount. Personal observations evidenced that on those days when fish is to be sold, crowds of consumers wait hours before the market opens.

228 Despite the fact that domestic demand for fish is unsatura-
439 ted, 40 percent of the Ekiaki's total catch, for the year 1973, was
434

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

The information acquired for the household frequency of consumption record usually consisted of rough approximations. However, several important aspects became evident during the rural to urban comparison. For example, household usage of sugar was found to be as high as 3.31 pounds per person per week in Nuku'alofa, although the average for the entire urban sample was 1.18. On the other hand, rural consumption of sugar averaged only .57 pounds per week. Cereal products, including bread and flour, are also used in greater quantities in Nuku'alofa than in rural areas.[1]

The consumption of soft drinks, alcoholic products, and cassava significantly increased in the urban areas, while the consumption of yams decreased. In the case of tubers, this fact most probably reflects economic forces which dictate that a basket of cassava cost T$.80, while a basket of yams sells of T$10-12.[2]

A higher rate of consumption of canned meat products was also observed in the urban area, although this product is widely used throughout Tonga--a probable reflection of its ease of distribution, storage and social status. A purchase of two samples of the most commonly used canned meat, and a subsequent proximal

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[1] This data may have been influenced by the distribution of such products over the islands. Surveys of stores in rural villages indicated that often sugar, flour and bread were not in stock. At times, the entire Kingdom is devoid of such basic commodities as sugar or flour. In one such incidence, over two weeks elapsed before a new shipment arrived from overseas sources, during which the entire nation lacked sugar. However, even with consideration being given to these influences, a significant variation between rural and urban consumption is evident.

[2] Prices acquired in the Nuku'alofa market, October, 1974.

103: Sanders G-3 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

Whaling in Tonga

by R. T. SANDERS

I HAD OFTEN been a spectator, alternately fascinated and repelled, while a whale was cut up on the seafront at Nuku'alofa at low tide. The great dark hulk of the whale broken by vivid red gashes where the cutters had exposed the flesh, the ivory gleam of a vast rib, the gory figures hacking away in the midst of the shambles, and the green lagoon waters incarnidined around the carcase—all this was, perhaps providentially, just beyond the range of accurate vision, out at the reef's edge beside the whale boats which still flew their black and white flags at the masthead, signalling success. Close in at the foreshore were the punts which served as ferries and market stalls for the rich red squares of whale meat. These were always surrounded by eager Tongan purchasers of all ages, up to their knees in the water, chattering excitedly and good-naturedly jostling for position.

But, of course, it was the prelude to all this that I really wanted to see, that prelude on the high seas which was in fact the main act to which the cutting and selling were but the aftermath. And as we slipped our moorings one grey, silvery morning I realised my desire. I was not travelling in the whaling boat. Knowing the superstitions of whaling men, and also the hazards a stranger could cause both for himself and for the crew of the boat in its small confines, I had neither sought nor expected such an invitation. Enough to be about to see the whalers in action from close quarters aboard a fisheries launch.

There were two boats, identical and adequately described as typical whaling boats, but typical of the great days of whaling in the last century. 'Double-enders', (pointed fore and aft) both were rigged with a gaff-sail and a jibsail and handled magnificently in the wind. But their rôles were to be widely different. One was the 'killer boat', its name sufficient indication of its function, the other was the 'stand-by boat' and during the chase its sole duty is to be ready to pick up the crew of the other boat if it comes to grief. It takes no part in the killing.

The tale of these whaling men would form a saga in itself. They were mostly members of one family, originally from England, who had emigrated to the Americas and sailed out of Nantucket in the days when Herman Melville was writing *Moby Dick*. From there they had come to the south seas and settled in Tonga. A mingling of races seemed rather to have increased their hardihood, and the swarthy figures crouched in the boats had a calm confidence born of inherited skill blended with Polynesian pride of race and natural seamanship.

For the long haul to the whaling ground our launch towed the whale boats and the leading whalers sailed with us, our taller mast giving them a greater range of vision. Then a long period of waiting as we quartered the sea in search for the feathery waterspouts which are usually the first sign of